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Urban Renewal and Crime Prevention Strategies: A Case Study in Phoenix Rise



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Urban Renewal and Crime Prevention Strategies and their impact on community perceptions of personal safety and social well being within the locality of Phoenix Rise

DISCLAIMER

Opinions expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of Crime Prevention or the Government of Western Australia

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Executive Summary

This project was made possible by a Research and Development grant from the Office of Crime Prevention. The partnership between the City of Cockburn and Murdoch University had previously been established in the area of Community Development and through connections with the Centre for Social and Community Research. This current study provided both the City of Cockburn and the research team at the Centre for Social and Community Research with the opportunity to expand their connections and build the capacity of both partners through working with local communities on issues relevant to each community.

Urban redevelopment is a challenge for all levels of government and the community involved in the renewal process. The spaces in which people live, whether in public housing or in private tenure, impact on personal identity and provide linkages between the personal and the community. That redevelopment in many urban areas includes demolition, refurbishment and the subsequent moving of people into alternative accommodation raises many questions about the role of public housing in modern democracies. While the benefits associated with redeveloping older and out-dated designs have been documented in terms of crime reduction (Gans 1961), addressing social exclusion and accessing public space (Peel 1996; Wilson 1987, 1991, 1997), the perceptions of residents experiencing a redevelopment project have not been well documented.

This project acknowledges that urban renewal does not constitute a 'quick fix' for past design errors or policies that established purpose-built state housing estates. It also acknowledges that the Department for Housing and Works (Western Australia) and the City of Cockburn are working with the community to bring about change that aims to provide the basis for resilient, sustainable and diverse communities.

The body of this report discusses the following issues:

- An overview of literature that addresses urban renewal
- The policy nexus that encompasses urban renewal, crime prevention and community development
- An outline of the demographics of Phoenix Rise (Southwell)

- Statistical analysis of three survey waves conducted in the Phoenix Rise locality from January 2006 to February 2007
- Factors identified from community members that pertain to developing a safe living environment
- A discussion of the unintended consequences of the new Living Project
- Recommendations for the policy nexus

The body of the report also makes several specific findings:

- Statistical analysis of the survey data does not identify, in general, a significant trend in the residents' perceptions of Phoenix Rise as either improving or declining during the New Living Project
- Statistical trends have been identified in the following areas: an increase in feeling unsafe at night; a decrease in the perception of community consultation; and people perceive it is safer in winter than in summer
- Unintended consequences refer to an initial loss of social networks especially in the area of young children and older citizens
- The residents of Phoenix Rise do not have information regarding the aspects of the redevelopment project that aim to reduce/prevent criminal activity

Factors that impact on safety and quality of life:

- A significant proportion of the residents view 'target hardening' through high fencing, security systems, visible policing and security guards as primary forms of providing a safe living environment
- Reducing the level of obvious vandalism in the area
- Targeting vacant houses during the redevelopment period with appropriate security measures
- More effective street lighting is required as residents perceive night time to be more unsafe than daylight hours
- Further landscaping on verges and in parks

Recommendations

- At a policy level, work needs to be undertaken to develop benchmarks for effectively evaluating redevelopment projects. This must include, but is not limited to a range of indicators including an analysis of crime statistics,

pre, during and post redevelopment, surveys of residents' perceptions of the changes, interviews with people leaving and moving into the area; interviews with key government stakeholders to ascertain how standards are developed and the manner in which new housing criteria are implemented

- At the level of crime prevention, a pamphlet that outlines the crime prevention characteristics of the urban renewal project needs to be developed and distributed to the residents in the locality
- Community development support systems require more visibility, especially during the early and middle stages of the renewal project, to deal with the initial loss of social networks for younger school age children and older citizens
- Ensure community consultation and information is continued throughout the entire project

Overall this project has identified that the New Living Project implemented in Phoenix Rise is still undergoing transition. Residents' perceptions of the locality and the changes taking place have not significantly altered over the study period in either positive or negative terms.

Introduction

Urban renewal policies are employed as a means to address the multi-dimensional character of urban problems. Problems such as poverty, social exclusion, crime reduction and prevention, deteriorating housing quality and the use of public space are all built into the complex dynamics that make up urban design policies (Klienmans 2004; Lane and Henry 2004). Many of the estates undergoing urban renewal projects are communities which face multiple problems from high unemployment, higher than average crime rates and for many, low incomes. In Australia, urban renewal projects are prompted by State Housing Authorities, and while aiming to address the physical and social needs of the community, the underlying emphasis is often asset and tenant management (Randolph and Judd 2001).

Approaches adopted nationally vary across the different States and territories with early interventions focusing on asset improvement strategies and current strategies moving towards a whole-of-government approach. The current mix of strategies on a national level adopts a combination of the following:

- Asset (or physical) improvement
- Wholesale or partial asset disposal and redevelopment
- Management strategies (eg. intensive management, transfers to community housing)
- Community Development strategies
- Whole of government approaches

(Randolph and Judd 2001)

Urban renewal projects nationally and internationally are informed by the importance of housing diversification and social mix within the locality (Arthurson 2002; Mustard et al. 2003; Wood 2003). Housing diversification refers to the upgrading or sale of public housing and the construction of new owner-occupied or private rental housing in areas that were once predominantly public housing estates. The rationale behind housing diversification is the perception that public estates can reinforce social and economic problems experienced by the people of the estate due to their isolation from the broader community. The assumption is that a diverse range of occupants within a locality will ensure a more balanced community and thus provide the means for improving social cohesion and increased community participation for developing community facilities (Arthurson 2002; Forrest 2000; Turnstall 2003).

The emphasis on social mix is based on the view that people living in designated public housing estates are doubly disadvantaged through both economic concerns and the stigma associated with public housing estates (Arthurson 2002; Wilson 1997). Promoting social mix aims to increase community building and is therefore more likely to maintain the gains that have been made through the renewal process (Wood 2003: 51). The idea is that a diverse range of people living within a locality will facilitate increased social networks and engender social trust, thereby providing the basis for a secure and sustainable community.

Urban renewal projects have been linked to tackling problems associated with crime while also attempting to encourage greater levels of personal and community safety. In Australia, crime prevention is underpinned by the view that a co-ordinated approach is needed that integrates policy with programs so that all parts work together (Homel 2004). In Western Australia, the Western Australian Community Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy (CSCPS) emphasises that to reduce and prevent crime requires actions that are sustainable, cooperative, inclusive, targeted and evidence based, focus on results and emphasise sharing knowledge (CSCPS 2004). This approach acknowledges that to prevent crime requires opportunity reduction projects, community building projects and structural approaches that target the underlying causes of crime such as reduction in poverty, inequality and exclusion (Weatherburn 2001; Hope 1997; Hughes 1998).

The aim of this project is therefore to examine the nexus of these social issues: urban renewal–crime prevention–community perceptions of safety. The project will focus on one locality within the City of Cockburn: Southwell, (now called Phoenix Rise) and the implementation of the Department of Housing and Works New Living Project. The research study is premised on three interrelated concerns: first, to identify the residents' perceptions of the urban renewal project in relation to its impact on personal and community safety; second, to identify the residents' perceptions of the redevelopment measures that aim to reduce crime and third, to ascertain what, if any, impact the New Living Project has had on existing social networks.

The report is divided into four main parts: an introduction and three subsequent chapters. The Introduction serves to contextualise the study in two specific ways: first, the aims and objectives of the study will be explained, and second, to

outline the methodology for the project. The following three chapters comprise the report in full. Chapter One will provide background detail of the Southwell/Phoenix Rise New Living Project, it will also contextualise this intervention within the policy context in order to situate the aims and objective of this project within the broad policy domains. Chapter Two will present an overview of the demographics of the locality. Chapter Three will present the findings in detail. This will be presented in three sections: perceptions of crime and community safety; perceptions of the redevelopment project; and residents' perceptions of the impact of the project on existing social networks. The report will conclude by highlighting areas for further investigation and research.

1. Aims and Objectives

The broad aims of this project are to identify factors that can assist with the development of resilient communities; to identify measures that assist with the development of crime reduction and crime prevention at a local level and to highlight measures that can increase community members' quality of life. The project seeks to fulfil these aims through an analysis of the implementation of the New Living Project in Phoenix Rise.

The report examines some of the ways in which the implementation of the New Living Project has impacted on the local community's perceptions of crime and safety; whether the project has had positive and/or negative effects on social networks; and if there have been any unintended consequences of the New Living Project in relation to personal and community safety, social networks and quality of life issues.

2. Methodology

This project relied on the use of multiple research methods necessary to meet the aims of the project. This view is premised on the understanding that community research and action is an active collaboration among researchers, practitioners and community members that uses multiple methodologies (American Psychological Association 2001).

As a basic premise of the project was to identify some of the ways in which a redevelopment program affects the residents' perceptions of crime, safety, social networks and relationships, the project team utilised different methods including:

- Documentary searches to review current research on urban renewal, crime prevention and social networks
- Three surveys of residents within the locality of Phoenix Rise to ascertain changing perceptions of the impact of the redevelopment project
- Focus groups with community members
- A small tracking study to follow the impact of residents who have elected to move into alternative public housing in a different location.

3. Methods

I. Documentary search

The project documents were collected from:

- The City of Cockburn
- Southwell Residents Association
- Australian Bureau of Statistics
- Relevant Government websites
- Electronic database searches

The City of Cockburn provided documents on the history of the redevelopment of Southwell.

Data was collected from the ABS 2001 and 2005 census data to provide a broad demographic profile of the Southwell/ Phoenix Rise locality. As the locality is not a suburb the ABS census data was drawn from four local collection areas within the suburb of Hamilton Hill.

The City of Cockburn website provided the City of Cockburn Strategic Plan 2006-2016; the Department for Housing and Works provided relevant policy documents that pertain to urban renewal and public housing; the Department for Planning and Infrastructure website provided relevant documents on crime prevention and urban design; the Office of Crime Prevention website provided access to Preventing Crime: Community Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy (2005).

Murdoch University databases were accessed for current research on urban renewal, crime prevention, crime prevention through environmental design, social networks, safe communities, fear of crime and community based crime prevention.

II. Survey

The project team developed one survey and ran the survey three times from January 2006 through to February 2007. The survey contained primarily closed-ended questions and two open-ended questions for respondents' comments. The survey utilised a five-point Likert measuring scale for most survey questions. The first survey developed benchmarks on residents' perceptions of crime, safety and social networks and the subsequent surveys aimed to track the changing perceptions of the impact of the redevelopment on perceptions of personal and community safety and social relationships. Three forms of statistical analysis were carried out: first, frequency distributions to determine percentage responses; second, univariate analysis to ascertain whether the data indicates any statistical significance in either positive or negative terms; third, independent t-tests for some survey questions to further explore statistical significance around factors such as seasonal fluctuations and time of day. (See Appendix 1 for copies of the survey).

The research questions addressed to the survey data include:

- What, if any, changes can be identified regarding perceptions of personal and community safety?
- What are the key crime indicators for the respondents?
- Has there been a significant increase/decrease in crime indicators over the survey period?
- What are the key perceptions of the urban renewal project?
- Has there been any significant change in these perceptions?
- What are the respondents' views regarding social networks during the urban renewal project?

III. Focus groups and tracking study

Focus groups: these groups were arranged through community service organisations and were held around exiting groups to maximise potential participants. Groups varied in number from 2 – 12 participants, and seven groups were held in total which resulted in a total of 28 participants. The research

anticipated accessing a diverse mix of groups; however, access to some groups was limited which resulted in some groups not being adequately represented: this was particularly so for youth living in the Phoenix Rise area. Representation did include seniors and retired people, families with young children, Indigenous groups, single adults and community organisations.

Tracking study: the tracking study aimed to follow a range of family groups referred by the Department for Housing and Works who requested moving into alternative public housing as a result of the redevelopment project. The research team did not contact residents who elected to move out of the area without Department of Housing and Works involvement. While the initial cohort aimed for ten families, three family groups agreed to be part of the process. Interviews were held prior to the move and follow-up interviews occurred after the family settled into their new accommodation. Interview questions focused on access to services, social relationships, maintaining networks and quality of life.



Chapter One: Origins and Background

The locality of Southwell (henceforth, Phoenix Rise) is distinguishable from the surrounding areas due to particular features that make the area physically distinct. Phoenix Rise is bordered by Stock Road to the east and Phoenix Road to the south, Rockingham Road provides the western border and a large tract of land to the north encapsulates the locality. (See Appendix 2 for map of locality)

In the 1970s the State Housing Commission developed what had been bushland to build the Southwell Estate. Premised on Radburn design planning principles, the estate featured a mixture of free-standing dwellings and townhouses. The dwellings are generally set backwards on the block with the rear of the house facing the street while the front of the house faces communal 'green' areas (Lee 2006). Radburn design principles also provide a network of laneways aimed for bicycle and pedestrian access between adjoining properties on the estate. Initially conceptualised as a 'planned paradise' (Woodward 1997: 26), many questions and criticisms have been raised about the design features. Criticisms such as insufficient privacy, security and safety in public places due to dwellings facing inwards have been noted (Woodward 1997). This point also raises questions about the extent to which the design of public housing estates contributes to the social fabric within these estates.

Phoenix Rise falls within the suburb of Hamilton Hill, approximately five kilometres south-east of Fremantle. In 2003 the City of Cockburn and the Department for Housing and Works (DHW) developed a joint project to redevelop the area under the banner of the Southwell New Living Project. In 2004 the City of Cockburn and the Department for Housing and Works contracted the McCusker/Satterly Group to manage the project. One primary aim was to reduce the number of DHW housing stocks and to refurbish some current stocks over a four-year period. In 2004 DHW stocks comprised of 315 dwellings, or 35.4 percent of the total dwellings in the locality with an aim to reduce this to approximately 90 dwellings.

The New Living Project also aims to address key issues identified from an earlier study carried out by the City of Cockburn. The Southwell Planning for your Future Workshop (2003) identified areas of concern and key strengths within the locality. The former include alleged drug-taking and dealing, loitering, graffiti, vandalism and antisocial behaviour, poor streetscape and a general diminishing of a sense of

community. On the positive side, the residents identified that the locality of the area, its close proximity to Fremantle, the natural bushland and the views over Cockburn towards the ocean all provide distinct future possibilities.

The principles that underpin the New Living Project also aim to address crime and community safety. The primary elements of the project include enhancing street linkages to provide for better access, developing more open pedestrian pathways which will enable the closure of most of the walled laneways, reducing the amount of rear fencing that abuts public open space, the creation of new residential areas that overlook underutilised open space and new roadways to improve linkages between the eastern and northern parts of the locality. (See Appendix 3 for a copy of the Master Plan)

The overarching theme that informs the elements of the Phoenix Rise New Living Project is based on the principles of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). This incorporates four key characteristics that provide the opportunity to influence human behaviour through the built environment. Territoriality refers to creating zones within communities so that people will feel connected to and thus attempt to defend, their community (Geeson and Wilson 1989: 5). Natural surveillance means combining the physical features of any locality with the activities people engage in so as to maximise surveillance from the local residents (Cozens 2002: 133) Activity support includes enhancing the physical design of the area such that people are encouraged to use public areas. Access control refers to the management of design of entrances, exits, fencing and lighting in order to encourage an easy flow through an area that, at the same time, discourages the possibility of criminal acts (Cozens 2002:133).

1.2 Policy Nexus

This study sits across three broad policy domains: housing, crime prevention and community development. In the area of housing, the study relates specifically to urban renewal and public housing, however the primary features of tenure diversification and social mix within redevelopment processes ensure that housing policy *in general* is an integral aspect of this project. Policy on crime prevention also plays a central role in this project. The Community Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy identifies five key areas of crime prevention that relate directly to this study: supporting families, children and young people; strengthening community and revitalising neighbourhoods; targeting priority areas; reducing repeat offenders; and designing out crime. While a specific focus

on reducing repeat offenders' actions is not a primary aspect of this study, any intervention that reduces criminogenic factors is relevant to the study at hand. The policy domain of community development relates most specifically to the services and programs offered through the City of Cockburn and other service providers in the area. This policy domain incorporates the principles of engaging with communities in the hope of generating social justice, equality and wellbeing (Kenny 2006).

The issue of housing in the current climate in Western Australia is at a premium. The Department for Housing and Works Annual Report (2006-07) identifies that the Western Australian housing system is affected by population growth and increased demand from international immigration and national migration, an ageing population and a significant loss of low-cost private rental housing. Further DHW argue that there is significant stress in the housing market with an increased number of people receiving the maximum Commonwealth Rent Assistance benefit. This has seen the percentage of maximum benefit recipients rising from 52.7% in 2001 to 57.8% in 2004 (DHW 2006), and the percentage of long term applicants renting public housing for longer than three years has increased from 12.5% to 17.4%.

The policy platform of the New Living Project aims to 'improve community and serve those in need. It is aimed at reducing the presence of public housing in areas of high public housing density, refurbishing public housing and achieving better land utilisation' (DHW – Report on Operations Annual Report, 2006-7). In 2006-07 the Department estimated that over 700 dwellings would be refurbished for sale with around 300 dwellings being offered to private buyers.

This reduction in public housing has been likened to similar reforms that have been visited on other spheres of the social economy in the 1990s in the name of microeconomic reform, deregulation and competitive advantage (Babcock 1997: 3). The public housing sector has been through a period of fiscal restraint, and policies that emphasise a reduction in public housing stocks have been documented widely both nationally (Haywood 1996; Dalton, 2004; Wood 2003) and internationally (Sandercock 1998, Rosembaum et al. 1998). While public housing is funded through the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) and this framework encourages the use of urban renewal strategies, the states are largely responsible for the delivery of public housing. The complicating factor in Australia, however, is that there is no national framework for evaluating the

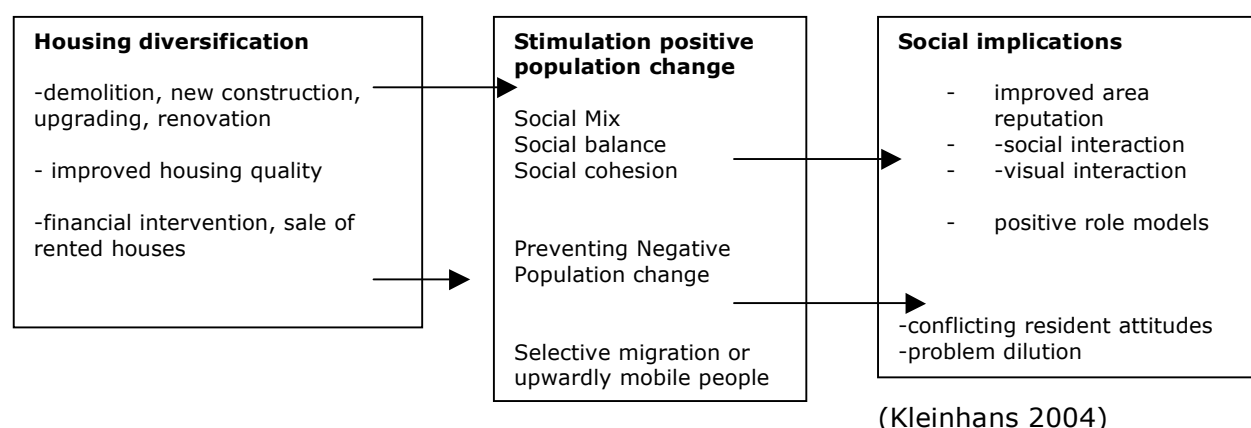
effectiveness of urban renewal interventions, nor is there an agreed framework for the structure of such renewal projects (Judd and Randolph 2006: 98).

The current study in Phoenix Rise resides within this urban renewal policy domain with its emphasis on infrastructure upgrades, reduction in public housing stocks and improvements in public design. However, it also employs a community renewal focus by ensuring that employment and training are part of the project with several workers employed through the local Burdiya Aboriginal Youth Service. It also ensures that local community members are encouraged to be part of the renewal process and that partnerships are developed with other government and non-government agencies, and finally, that there is an emphasis on building resilient communities (Wood 2003; Randolph and Wood 2004).

1.3 Policy Issues

The issue of what makes a resilient and cohesive community certainly refers to more than refurbishing older homes and changing the 'social mix' of a locality. The complexity of combining these policy domains that have a direct effect on how and where people live, especially in an era of economic restraint and housing shortfalls, raise questions about the assumptions embedded in all policy initiatives. Peel identifies that, 'redevelopment could be seen as a relatively quick fix for non-performing stock. Or it could be seen as an opportunity to make long term investments in the future possibilities of strong, viable, already diverse places and in the lives of the people who live there now' (Peel 1996: 11). For those in Phoenix Rise the assumption is that changing the profile of the community will increase the possibility for the development of a resilient and cohesive community. (See Figure 1 for an outline)

Figure 1 Assumed cause-and-effect relations of housing diversification



Several criticisms have been raised regarding embedding social mix and tenure diversification within redevelopment strategies. The assumption is based on the view that a combination of affluent and not-so-well-off people will provide community members with access to the facilities and opportunities (Arthurson 2002; Barnes et al. 2006). However, research has questioned the effectiveness of locating people with different levels of affluence in one locality as it may create further tensions between groups (Page and Broughton 1997; Biggins and Hassan 1998). Jupp (1999) also suggests that constructing a deliberate social mix does not ensure that contact between different groups occurs. Further, Arthurson (2002) also finds that the evidence to support the assumption that owner-occupiers will bring more facilities to a locality has not been adequately researched.

The issue of tenure diversification has also raised further criticism primarily regarding overcoming stigma (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998; Martin and Watkinson 2003; Wood 2003). Residents within the locality may consider that the area has changed due to the redevelopment intervention, however stigma is often attached from outsiders' opinions. In case studies in the United Kingdom participants in redevelopment projects reported that people outside the estate would still view the area negatively (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998). Other research also concludes that it is difficult to change the poor reputation of a locality after a redevelopment project (Beekman et al. 2001; Helleman and Wassenberg 2004).

Criticism has also been raised regarding the use of crime prevention strategies that employ environmental design interventions. Kaytal (2002: 48) suggests that such forms of intervention pose a risk to personal privacy and therefore extend the sphere of social control through more subtle forms of government interference. Further questions have been raised regarding the use of passive

surveillance as not strong enough to deter offending behaviour (Parnaby 2006) while others have questioned the assumption that people will not offend if they know they will be seen (Bushway et al. 2003). These assumptions can cover over the fundamental nature of offending – that it is sporadic, contingent and temporary (Maruna 2001).

This project therefore straddles these complex policy domains. As the project is premised on three interrelated concerns – identifying residents' perceptions of the urban renewal project; highlighting any unintended consequences that occur between the process and existing social networks; and identifying measures that can reduce crime and positively enhance the quality of life of residents – it will provide rich detail that will respond to these policy conundrums.



Chapter Two: Demographic Details

2.1 Population Characteristics: City of Cockburn and Phoenix Rise

The purpose of this section is to provide a detailed picture of the residents of the locality of Phoenix Rise. As the locality sits within the City of Cockburn the residents' demographics will be situated alongside the overall local government area. The characteristics will include population numbers, housing tenure, labour force figures, Indigenous persons, birthplace and languages other than English (LOTE) spoken at home. As the purpose of the research study is to identify the residents' perceptions of the New Living Project across a range of domains the demographic details of the survey respondents will also be delineated.

On Census night 2006, the population for the City of Cockburn was 74,473 with 37,053 males and 37,420 females; the median age was 34 years. The socio-economic indicators suggest no difference in levels of advantage or disadvantage in the City of Cockburn compared with the state. The Index of Advantage-disadvantage was 981, which was slightly less than that in the region (see Table 1). The median individual weekly income was \$501, the median family income was \$1,272 and the individual household income was \$1,201. To develop a finer picture of the demographics of the residents of Phoenix Rise data was collected from four local collection districts which comprise the area. The median age for these four small areas ranges from 38-40 years; the median weekly income from \$272-378; the median family income range is: \$633-930 and the median household income ranges from \$515-769. These data indicate that the residents of Phoenix Rise comprise the lower end of the socio-economic profile of the City of Cockburn.

Table 1 Socio-economic Indicators 2005, City of Cockburn

Scio-economic Indicators	Cockburn	Perth	Western Australia
Percent 15 and over unmarried	47.5	50.3	
Single parent families	21.1	22.0	22.0
Renters	20.6	23.7	24.9
Public housing	5.6	4.0	4.2
Motor vehicles	50,174	994,648	1,372,922
Motor vehicles per 100 persons	76	75	74
Households without a vehicle	6.7	7.8	7.5
Median individual weekly income	\$300.00-\$399.00	\$300.00-\$399.00	\$300.00-\$399.00
Left school before year 12	62.9	54.8	58.7
Percent with little or no English	2.56	1.81	1.37
Remoteness/Accessibility	Major cities of Australia		
SEIFA Indicators			
Index of advantage/disadvantage	981	1,024	1,007
Index of disadvantage	987	1,018	1,004
Index of Economic Resources	1,000	1,019	1,007
Index of education and occupation	958	1,019	999

The basic demographic characteristics that made up the residents of Phoenix Rise in 2006 are summarised in Table 2. This table indicates that the greatest percentage of the population fit in the 25-34 years age group. Strong numbers are also evident in the 35-54 age groups with young children 5-14 years also over 200.

Table 2 Population of Phoenix Rise (2006)

Age group	Male	Female	Total Persons
0-4 years	51	52	103
5-14 years	109	100	209
15-19 years	59	58	117
20-24 years	68	61	129
25-34 years	151	130	281
35-44 years	135	120	255
45-54 years	110	146	256
55-64 years	117	139	256
65-74 years	76	77	153
75-84 years	41	71	112
85 years and over	15	29	44
Total	932	983	1915

(ABS Census Data, 2006)

2.2 Housing Tenure

Housing Tenure for the Local Government Area indicates that close to 75% of the dwellings within the City of Cockburn are owner occupied with 30% being fully owned and 45% of the total dwellings being purchased. A further 9% of the dwellings are rented through private rental organisations with 4.5% percent of the total dwellings rented through the Department for Housing and Works. The situation in Phoenix Rise (Table 3) provides a snapshot of the demographics pertinent to the locality. Owner-occupiers constitute 51% of the dwelling occupancies; 23% of the dwellings are rented through private rental organisations with a further 23% also renting from the Department for Housing and Works.

Table 3 Housing Tenure Phoenix Rise (2006)

Housing Tenure	House	Semi-detached	Flat	Total
Fully owned	181	23	10	214
Being purchased	149	23	10	182
Rented: Private	45	20	11	76
Rented: State housing	91	49	44	184
Rented: family	51	28	3	82
Tenure not stated	26	3	0	29
Total dwellings	543	146	78	767

(ABS Census Data, 2006)

2.3 Labour Force Participation

Labour force figures also situate the residents of Phoenix Rise within the larger picture of the City of Cockburn. Labour force figures for the whole of the local government area demonstrate that 75% of the male working age population are in full-time employment, 14% are employed part-time, 3% are registered as unemployed and looking for work and a further 21% of the male population aged 15 to over 85 years are not in the labour force. The labour force figures of women in the City of Cockburn also point to 44% of women of working age are in full-time employment, 45% in part-time employment with 3% registered as

unemployed and looking for work; a further 36% of the total female population aged 15 to over 85 years are not in the labour force.

The labour force figures for Phoenix Rise demonstrate that 64% of the male working population are in full-time employment; 14% are working part-time, 8% are registered as unemployed and a further 34% of the male population aged between 15 and 85 years are not in the labour force. The figures for women are also similar to those for the whole of the local government area with 42% in full-time employment, 38% in part-time employment, 7% unemployed and a further 46% of the total female population in the 15 to 85 years not in the labour force. The figures for Phoenix Rise are further broken down in Table 4. These figures suggest that unemployment is low for all groups and that part-time employment for women aged 35-44 is the preferred option.

Table 4 Labour Force Figures - Phoenix Rise

Male	Full time	% age	% Labour force	Unemployed	% age	% Labour force
15-24	41	32%	8%	10	7%	2%
25-34	85	56%	18%	6	4%	1%
35-44	74	55%	16%	12	8%	2%
45-54	51	46%	11%	4	3%	0
55-64	40	47%	8%	9	7%	1%
65-74	6	7%	1%	0	0	0
Women	Full time	% age	% Labour force	Part time	% age	% Labour force
15-24	35	29%	9%	24	20%	6%
25-34	44	33%	12%	16	12%	4%
35-44	25	20%	7%	65	54%	18%
45-54	35	23%	9%	28	19%	7%
55-64	14	10%	3%	13	9%	3%
65-74	0	0%	0%	0	0%	0%

2.4: Birthplace and languages

Further demographic details for both the City of Cockburn and Phoenix Rise include Indigenous persons, birthplace and languages other than English (LOTE) spoken at home. On Census night 2006, Indigenous persons constituted 1% of the total population of the City of Cockburn with 1,255 (from 74,473) people identifying themselves as Indigenous; in Phoenix Rise, 5% of the population (107 from 1,915) identify themselves as Indigenous. Birthplace and languages other

than English for both the City of Cockburn and Phoenix Rise are represented in Table 5.

Table 5 Birthplace and LOTE – City of Cockburn and Phoenix Rise

City of Cockburn 74,473	Total	Percent	Phoenix Rise 1915	Percent
Born in Australia	47,950	64%	1127	58%
Elsewhere	21,409	28%	605	31%
LOTE	12,232	16%	470	24%

These figures provide a broad snapshot of the City of Cockburn and the residents of Phoenix Rise. Although a small locality, the residents represent a diverse group of people with a higher percentage of Phoenix Rise residents speaking languages other than English than those for the broader community in the City of Cockburn. As this project is primarily focused on housing, a relevant point is the difference between the percentages of rental housing tenure listed with the Department for Housing and Works. The City of Cockburn's overall public housing stocks sit around 5% (1209 properties). For Phoenix Rise, public housing constitutes 23% (184) of the housing stock in the locality thus pointing to a substantial number of housing in this small area coming under public housing status.

The area of labour force participation also highlights some differences between the City of Cockburn and Phoenix Rise. Most specifically is the issue of unemployment, which for the most part, is certainly low, around 3%. The percentage figures for Phoenix Rise suggest that 8% for men and 7% for women is still slightly high, however, when viewed in relation to the total labour force population for the locality these figures drop significantly (see Table 3). These figures suggest that unemployment is *not* one of the primary features for the residents within Phoenix Rise.

2.5 Phoenix Rise – Survey respondents

To add to the above demographic details the survey respondents were asked to provide a few details regarding their age group, labour force status, housing status, family situation and dwelling description. The purpose is to provide a clear picture of the residents of Phoenix Rise and, while not all residents responded to the surveys, the response rate was around 22% overall for the three surveys.

Table 6 Population Phoenix Rise

Age groups	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Total
12-18 years	0	1	3	4
19-24 years	0	7	8	15
25-34 years	22	36	26	84
35-44 years	13	29	24	66
45-54 years	18	35	22	75
55 and over	53	92	71	216

(ABS Census Data, 2006)

Survey 1 (S1) and Survey 2 (S2) also provided a higher proportion of male respondents with 63% for S1 and 50% for S2; only Survey 3 (S3) provided a more equal split with 50.3% of the respondents identifying themselves as women and 49% identifying themselves as male. With reference to Indigenous status, 2% of the overall respondents identified themselves in this category. In that Indigenous people constitute 5% of the population of the locality the figures drawn from the data do not provide a valid representation of the Indigenous population of Phoenix Rise.

2.6 Labour force and household group

Labour force figures over the survey period remained static, with 35% of the survey population for each survey being in full-time employment, 22% in part-time employment, 35%-40% not looking for work and 8% identifying they were looking for employment. Household make-up is composed of couples with no children (25%); singles (23%-27%); families with dependents (20%-30%) and single-parent families (9%). These figures provide data across a range of domains, thus constituting a representative sample of residents within the locality.

The demographic data drawn from the surveys in relation to housing tenure also demonstrate a diverse cross-section of residents, as indicated in Table 7.

Table 7 Housing Tenure: Phoenix Rise

Survey	Owned	Purchasing	Rental: private	Rental: DHW	other	Total
Survey 1	45	21	14	18	8	106
Survey 2	105	44	26	18	9	202
Survey 3	70	24	37	18	6	155

(ABS Census Data, 2006)

In percentage terms the majority of survey respondents for each survey were owner-occupier: 62% (S1), 73% (S2) and 60% (S3); for DHW rental tenure, the survey respondents were consistent, with 18 people completing each survey. However, in percentage terms the rate fluctuated from 9% to 16% of the total surveys for each survey wave.

The demographic details that make up the population of Phoenix Rise situate the residents at the lower end to the socio-economic profile of the City of Cockburn. Home ownership is slightly less than that of the whole local government area and a higher percentage of people live in state housing tenure. The sample of residents from Phoenix Rise who completed the surveys clearly provide a broad spread of the demographic make-up of the locality thus constituting a representative sample of the local residents.



Chapter Three: Findings in Detail

3.1 Perceptions of crime and safety

An integral part of feeling connected to a community is for people to feel safe in their local environs. The House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs (2004) identified that crime, and fear of crime, is one of the most significant concerns in the Australian community (HRSC, 2004:1).

Feelings of fear and safety can be linked to the way in which a locality is maintained (Cozens et al. 2002). Providing appropriate open spaces, adequate lighting and other design features can enhance feelings of safety. However, fear of crime and feeling safe also relate to social and economic factors and their relationship with disorderly and criminal behaviour (Carter 2002). Conduct such as being abused on the street, harassment for money and observing physical violence between groups of young people can exacerbate feelings of being unsafe (Delhey and Newton 2003; Cattell 2004). In several discussions with residents of Phoenix Rise, they commented that observing obvious disorderly behaviour and being verbally challenged while on the local streets caused fear and insecurity within their own community.

The residents of Phoenix Rise were asked to express their views on personal safety and crime. The questions posed required respondents to consider whether, in their view, they felt the locality was more or less safe than it had been two years ago; they were also asked to consider if they felt there was more or less crime over a two-year period. Further, the survey requested residents to identify the types of crime that caused the most concern, any particular areas or localities that caused people to feel particularly unsafe and, as a final question in the context of crime and safety, residents were asked to identify if they had been verbally or physically threatened within their locality.

The data and findings will be presented in two ways. First, an overview of findings for Survey 1 (S1) will be presented. This will include perceptions of safety and crime in the locality which will be presented in a table of frequencies and percentages. This data will serve as a baseline from which to measure the subsequent survey responses. Second, data will also be grouped and analysed for normality testing, as this will be used in the subsequent sections to highlight changes in the residents' perceptions of crime and safety within the locality during the survey period. The residents of Phoenix Rise identified that, in general,

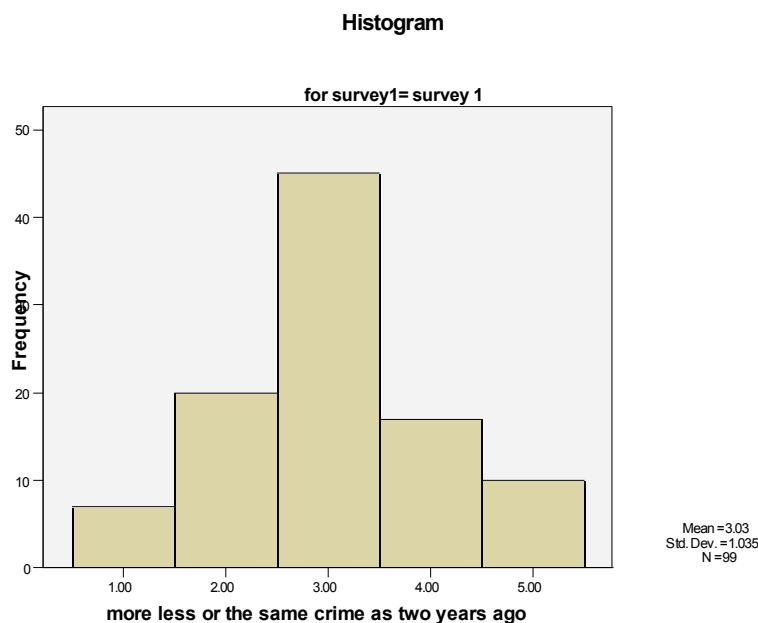
they perceive the locality to be safer during the day than at night. An overview of their perceptions is represented in Table 8.

Table 8 Personal Safety in Phoenix Rise: S1

Topic	Less safe	No change	More safe
Personal safety	33%	42%	25%
	Unsafe	Neutral	Safe
Safety at home: day	11%	16%	73%
Safety at home: night	20%	20%	60%
Safety walking: day	21%	18%	61%
Safety walking: night	70%	16%	14%

The figures suggest that, while a greater percentage of people identify no change in regards to feeling safe within their locality over a two-year period, people do feel safe in their homes and in the local neighbourhood during the day. Normality testing indicates that these figures fall within the normal distribution range (mean =2.83; p-value= 1.02; n=104; see Chart 1). The main concern the survey respondents raised is feeling unsafe in their neighbourhood at night.

Chart 1 S1- Histogram of responses



Questions in the survey also asked residents to express their views on crime in the locality over the past two-year period. The responses appeared to be split evenly between no change and those who perceive there to be more crime and

those who take the opposing view. These figures are represented in Table 9 below.

Table 9 Attitudes to Crime: S1

Table 3 Attitudes to Crime: S1						
	More crime		No change		Less crime	
Survey 1	27%		46%		27%	
Crime Type	Frequency	percent	Concern	percent		
Burglary	76	71%	80	75%		
Drug related crime	62	58%	53	50%		
Vandalism	48	45%	32	30%		
graffiti	34	32%	27	25%		
Antisocial behaviour	51	48%	49	45%		

As issues to do with crime and safety have been attributed to environmental characteristics residents were asked if they perceived any locations to feel particularly unsafe. 68% of the respondents for S1 noted that there are places within the locality that make them feel unsafe. The highest rating areas are outlined in Table 10. Residents were also asked whether they had been verbally or physically threatened such that they felt fearful. S1 found that 55% of the respondents commented that they had *not* been threatened and 42% (n=43) commented that they had; of this number, 42%, over half (n= 29) had been threatened in the previous twelve months with 85% (n=34) of these threats occurring in the local neighbourhood with 29 (72%) from persons unknown.

Table 10 Unsafe locations Phoenix Rise

Alleyways	35%
Bus stop	55%
Bushland	45%
Local shops	60%
Path next to pipeline	25%
Streets: Ely	22%
Erpingham	45%
Burbon	35%
Grandpre	38%
Fenton	22%
Southwell	22%
Blackwood	15%

3.2 Perceptions of crime and safety: S2 and S3

In the subsequent surveys, residents were again asked to identify their views of crime and safety. The same survey tool was used but questions were framed for residents to consider any changes in the last six months. In general, this section will demonstrate that, according to the survey data, there is no significant clear

trend to indicate that the residents' perceptions of crime and safety from 2005-2007 has changed. However, it will also show that, for the analysed period, seasonal characteristics do constitute a significant decrease in the residents' perceptions of crime and safety.

Table 11 Perceptions of personal safety S1 and S2

Survey 2	Less Safe	No Change	More Safe
Personal safety	21%	38%	41%
	Unsafe	Neutral	Safe
Safety at home: day	7%	13%	76%
Safety at home: night	4%	16%	63%
Safety walking: day	12%	21%	62%
Safety walking: night	66%	11%	17%
Survey 3			
Personal Safety	28%	42%	30%
	Unsafe	Neutral	Safe
Safety at home: day	11%	17%	72%
Safety at home: night	16%	26%	58%
Safety walking: day	17%	17%	66%
Safety walking: night	56%	20%	24%

Grouping the data by percentage suggests that there has been a decrease in residents' perceptions that the locality is unsafe, or in other words, that the locality is safer. Initial testing employed a univariate analysis of variance to ascertain whether this suggested decline in people perceiving the locality as not safe is significant (see Chart 2). However, the data indicates that the difference between the three surveys is not statistically significant (mean=2.94; p-value=1.092; n= 437). P-value (probability value) refers to the significance of the rate of movement up or down the scale. A conservative significance level was taken (p-value <0.050) thus anything less than this would indicate a significant trend in terms of the residents' perceiving the area as being either less or more safe.

Chart 2 Normal distribution: personal safety



As this analysis did not indicate any statistical difference further questions were put to the data. Analysis was undertaken to account for the seasonal differences between the survey waves. S1 and S3 were carried out in summer (January 2006, February 2007) and S2 was undertaken in winter (July 06). Independent t-tests were undertaken in this area for two reasons: first, to account for the disparity between response rates for the three surveys (S1 n=106, S2 n=202; S3 n=155) and second, to examine whether the difference in seasons could play a role in the residents' perceptions of crime and safety.

S1 and S3 were analysed to determine whether there was any statistical significance between the mean scores for each survey wave (see Table 12). The resultant p-value ($p=0.556$) does not demonstrate any statistical significance. When the data was grouped into the different seasonal responses and analysed using this variable, a very significant outcome was obtained (see Table 13), (p -value= 0.010). This suggests that seasonal differences positively impact on people's feelings of safety such that their perception of the locality as safer is significantly raised.

Table 12 Personal Safety S1 and S3

survey1and3	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Sig.
personal safety - less, survey1 same or more than two years ago	104	2.8269	1.02817	.10082	.556
survey3	144	2.9097	1.17022	.09752	

Table 13 Personal Safety-Seasonal Distribution

season	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Sig.
personal safety - less, summer same or more than two years ago	248	2.8750	1.11145	.07058	0.010
winter	189	3.1429	1.04968	.07635	

Care, however, needs to be taken when interpreting these results as only one survey (S2) was conducted in the winter months. Further surveys over the winter would have added support for this hypothesis. Several factors that relate to the seasonal disparity need to be taken into account. People may be more likely to be at home in the colder months and there may also have been a reduction in factors that contribute to people feeling unsafe, such as instances of vandalism and anti-social behaviour.

3.3 Mobility in the area

Similar analyses were carried out in relation to people walking at night in the locality. Again S1 and S3 responses were analysed using independent t-tests due to both surveys running in summer. The frequency responses certainly suggest that night-time is a variable that impacts on the residents' perceptions of safety, especially in summer. The test reveals the mean for S1= 3.87; for S3=3.56; p-value= .027 (See Table 14). These figures indicate that the distributions are highly significant, which further supports the view that residents perceive the area to be unsafe for walking at night time in the summer-time.

Table 14 Walking at night in Phoenix Rise (S1 and S3)

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Sig.
safety walking alone in night time	survey1	99	3.8788	1.04269	.10479	.027
	survey3	148	3.5608	1.17355	.09647	

3.4 Perceptions of crime (S2 and S3)

The following table provides the frequency and percentage rates for S2 and S3 waves in relation to the residents' perceptions of crime.

Table 15 Perceptions of Crime – S2 and S3

	More crime		No change		Less crime	
Survey 2	15%		47%		37%	
Crime Type	Frequency	percent	Concern		percent	
Burglary	128	63%	143		70%	
Drug related crime	92	45%	90		44%	
Vandalism	97	48%	97		48%	
graffiti	77	38%	77		38%	
Antisocial behaviour	83	41%	79		39%	
Survey 3	More crime		no change		Less crime	
	24%		48%		28%	
Crime type	Frequency	percent	Concern		percent	
Burglary	102	65%	74		47%	
Drug related crime	69	44%	55		35%	
Vandalism	48	30%	52		33%	
Graffiti	29	18%	22		14%	
Antisocial behaviour	59	38%	50		32%	

Similar to the residents' perceptions of safety, their perceptions of crime also indicate some disparity between the survey waves. As previously outlined, the percentage of people who feel that crime is increasing (S1 = 27%, S2=15% and S3= 24%) suggests that more people perceive there has been a reduction in crime in the area since the delivery of S1. Independent t-tests were again undertaken to ascertain whether this is statistically significant. The data was grouped into 'summer' and 'winter' responses to account for seasonal differences. However, no statistical significance was found in distribution between the two groups of responses. The mean for summer responses (3.05) and winter (2.92),

(p-value= 0.453) does not indicate any significant trend in the residents' perception of crime as either increasing or decreasing over the survey period.

Table 16 Independent T-test for summer and winter

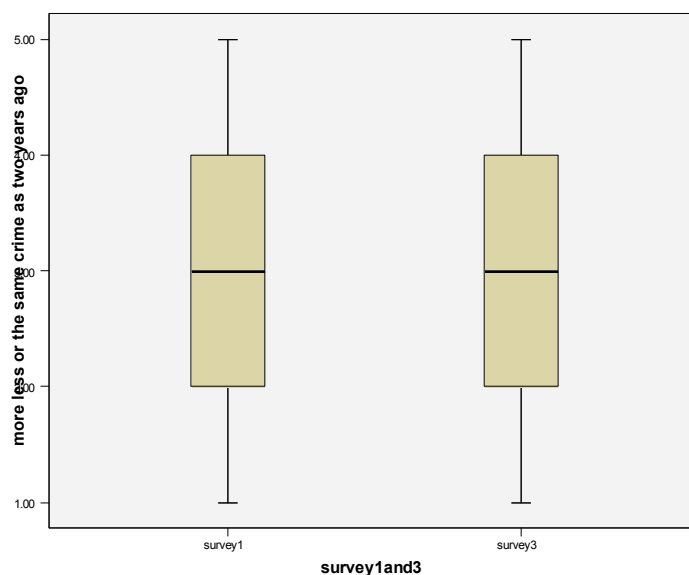
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Sig.
more less or the same crime as six months ago	Survey sum/win					
	Survey summer	245	3.0531	1.01689	.06497	
	Survey winter	188	2.9202	2.25370	.16437	.453

Further analysis was carried out to examine the difference in responses between S1 and S3 which indicated a percentage change of three percent however, this again was not statistically significant. This analysis is represented in Table 17 through statistical data and in Chart 3 in a box plot to demonstrate that the percentage declines do not necessarily show any statistical difference.

Table 17 Independent T-test S1 and S3 (summer)

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Sig.
more less or the same crime as six months ago	survey1and3					
	survey1	99	3.0303	1.03465	.10399	
	survey3	146	3.0685	1.00795	.08342	.775

Chart 3 Box plot Summer/Winter survey responses



3.5 Unsafe Locations and Threatening Behaviour

S2 and S3 also asked the residents about locations that they felt were unsafe. Sixty-six percent of the S2 respondents (n= 124) indicated that there are places within the locality in which they feel unsafe. For S3, 54% (n=79) indicated that particular areas cause them feel unsafe. The same locations that were identified in S1 were also identified in the subsequent survey waves with the highest percentage of people in both later surveys identifying the bushland area as unsafe (S2:65%; S3:55%), and the most common street identified as unsafe in both surveys as Erpingham Street.

As with S1, the residents were asked to identify whether they had been threatened within their locality. For S2, 22% (n=44) identified a positive response. For S3, 36% (n=54) also recorded a positive response. When viewed in relation to the baseline data from S1, a recorded response of 42% of respondents reported having been threatened suggests a decline in the rate of people recording a positive response. To supplement these data, an analysis of variance was undertaken to test the means across the three surveys (S1= 1.53; S2= 1.72; S3 = 1.66) (p-value=.336), which again was not statistically significant.

The above statistical analysis suggest that in general terms, the residents' perceptions of crime and safety have not altered significantly during the survey period. This is especially the case in overall terms of safety and the incidence of crime. Particular factors have been identified as impacting on the residents' perceptions of crime and safety, such as: the time of day, with most residents reporting that walking in their local neighbourhood at night is not safe. Another factor that appears to impact significantly on the residents' perceptions of crime and safety refers to the difference in seasons, with winter suggested as safer than the summer months.

3.6 Community Perceptions

Although the above statistical data suggests that no significant trends can be noted in relation to the perceptions of the residents of Phoenix Rise during the survey period it is important to situate these quantitative data with the qualitative perspectives of residents who participated in the focus group discussions. Two broad areas of discussion were raised: factors that make people feel safe and

those that cause people to feel unsafe. Feeling insecure and fearful relates to accessibility to and mobility within the locality, maintenance and general appeal, lighting, the level of vacant dwellings within the area and policing/ security issues. The following comments reflect some of the views of the participants of the focus groups:

I don't like to walk around the local area because there's always smashed glass and rubbish near the bus stop and in the park ... it looks terrible and makes me feel scared ... (male, 60 years)

There's too many vacant houses and kids go in there and take drugs and have parties, I don't like to walk past ... when there's people there ... (female, 50 years)

I don't ever take the kids to Goodchild park because I've found syringes there and there's people there taking drugs ... it's not safe for kids ... (female, 30 years)

I can see things are changing ... but there's still not enough lights at night (female 55 years)

I would like to walk down the street and not be abused (female, 17 years)

Domestic violence erupts on the street – no one does anything about it (female, 24 years)

There's always gangs of kids roaming around at night time (female, 37 years)

There's too many speeding cars that are reckless at night time (male, 35 years)

One of the common issues raised regarding crime and safety in the area refers to alleged drug-taking and drug dealing. This was a common theme throughout the survey data and the focus group interviews. Many residents identified areas where people take and sell drugs. The residents commented that often they would report these offences to police but nothing would happen to stop the incidence of drug-taking in the area. Residents are concerned about the way in which these incidents detract from the feel of the neighbourhood. More importantly, the repetition and visibility of these occurrences indicates for these residents that crime is still increasing and safety issues are not being addressed. The view of police and security on this topic is such that an integrated approach is needed and residents' concerns are recorded. Moreover, police and security require the community to inform them of any wrong-doing, however the residents of Phoenix Rise, through their discussions in the focus groups, feel reporting these incidences to police is a waste of time. The following comments indicate the concern of the residents:

People in my street deal drugs ... many times we have people knocking on our door looking for 'baggies' ... it's really not safe you know (female, 42)

You get hassled for money ... gangs of kids taking drugs ... they're on something because they look glazed and they are rude and shout at me if I don't give them money (male, 55)

A further indicator of safety for the residents of Phoenix Rise is vandalism and graffiti. While the residents in the later focus groups commented that rubbish dumping was not as serious as it has been, the bushland area that follows the gas pipeline still attracts rubbish dumping which impacts on the overall ambience of the locality. In terms of vandalism, the residents noted that many acts still occur at night, although and the introduction of the twenty-four hour security line did make people feel that the issue was being addressed. On this topic, residents' comments include:

Vandalism is always happening, every weekend there is more, the bus stop is smashed, or graffiti is over everything (male, 45 years)

There needs to be more attention to houses and gardens ... there's too many Homeswest houses and vacant lots with rubbish (female, 55 years)

More landscaping on the street would make the place look better (female, 19 years)



3.7 Perceptions of New Living Project

As previously discussed, the New Living Project in Phoenix Rise is a joint partnership between the Department for Housing and Works and the City of Cockburn. While the housing redevelopment aspect of the project is primarily driven by DHW, the creation of new residential areas, opening up of pedestrian pathways and the development of new roadways that aim to link the eastern and northern parts of the locality sit within the core business of the City of Cockburn. Given that this process began in 2003 and the fact that residents have been involved in the consultation process from the initial stages would suggest that most residents know of the project and its overall themes. Certainly the survey data supported this view as most people appeared to be aware of the project and its intention to reduce public housing stocks and redevelop and enhance the locality. However, many residents were not aware of the safety aspects of the project, especially in relation to designing-out-crime principles. Discussions in focus groups verified that, for many people, safety is associated with a barricade mentality with high fences that block visibility from the street or surrounding area.

This section will outline data from the three surveys in relation to the residents' perceptions of the New Living Project and their views about the locality in general. The survey data will be supplemented with data extracted from the focus groups held within the locality. This will outline the factors that, according to the residents of Phoenix Rise, have a bearing on fear, aim to reduce crime and impact on social networks within the locality.

In the three surveys residents were asked whether they were aware of the New Living Project and if they knew that the characteristics of the project incorporated strategies to improve community safety, traffic flow and parkland usage. The residents were also asked how they perceive their locality in terms of good, average or poor standards, if they perceive a sense of community within the area and if they feel the locality is a good place to bring up children. The responses from the three survey waves have been tabulated in Table 18.

Table 18 Perceptions of New Living Project – Phoenix Rise

Topic	S1	%	S2	%	S3	%
Aware of NLP	82	78%	147	73%	100	66%
Improve community safety	70	66%	124	62%	85	56%
Traffic flow	58	55%	84	42%	72	48%
Mobility within	63	59%	94	47%	73	48%
Parkland usage	57	53%	80	40%	68	45%
Consultation	57	54%	92	47%	58	39%

The frequencies and percentages between S1 and S3 suggest that fewer people are aware of the New Living Project. This could be an effect of new people moving into the locality and a drop-off in advertising from the respective departments and local government area. To further explore the indicated decline in awareness an independent t-test was undertaken. The samples were grouped into S1 and S3 with S2 excluded because it provided a midpoint between the two surveys held in the summer months. The analysis compared the means for S1 and S3 (1.21 and 1.33 respectively); this does indicate some statistical significance (p-value= .036). These results suggest that there has been a significant decline in the residents' perception that they continue to be consulted regarding the New Living Project within Phoenix Rise.

3.6 Residents' Perceptions of Phoenix Rise

The next series of questions concern the residents' views of the locality, its physical appearance, indicators of pride in the area, feelings of community and whether the area is an appropriate place for children. These results have been tabulated in Table 19.

Table 19 Perceptions of the locality of Phoenix Rise

Topic	S1			S2			S3		
	+	n	-	+	n	-	+	n	-
Physical environment	11	48	41	16	57	27	12	60	28
Rate neighbourhood	18	55	27	21	57	22	24	55	21
Pride in neighbourhood	7	50	42	8	55	37	11	53	35
Belonging to community	31	36	33	34	34	32	36	32	32
Community spirit	19	29	51	23	27	50	24	27	49
Appropriate for children	20	38	42	25	35	40	29	33	38

The above table provides the percentage response over the three survey waves. Each of these topics was subject to independent t-test to ascertain whether a significant trend (either positive or negative) can be detected. For each topic area no significant trend could be identified (See Table 20).

Table 20 Statistical analyses of the residents' perceptions of the locality

Topic	S1 mean	S3 mean	p-value
Physical environment	2.29	1.17	.142
Rate neighbourhood	2.08	1.97	.215
Pride in neighbourhood	2.34	2.23	.179
Belonging to community	2.94	2.90	.849
Community spirit	3.42	3.43	.929
Appropriate for children	3.32	3.19	.299

In the context of the New Living Project, these figures highlight that there is no significant trend, either positive or negative, in relation to the residents' perception of the locality. This suggests several important points for both the Department for Housing and Works and the City of Cockburn. First, the New Living Project is still in transition, therefore the residents are likewise undergoing transition in terms of the changes that are taking place. Second, that the survey data does not indicate a negative trend could suggest that, while things have not necessarily improved in terms of perception, they have certainly not decreased.

3.7 Impact on relationships

A final aspect of this project required examining the impact the New Living Project has had on existing relationships. This was explored through both the focus group discussions and following a small group of families who elected to move away from the area. However, before moving on to discuss the findings from these two groups it is important to outline some of the problems encountered with the tracking study. The participants for this aspect of the study were identified through the Department for Housing and Works and subsequently contacted by the research team. Of the ten families referred to the research team, three families agreed to take part in the study. The families were interviewed prior to the move with follow-up discussions that addressed issues on social networks and attitudes to the new community. Further interviews were to

be undertaken three months post move, however two of the families did not want to further participate in the study. The findings developed from this aspect of the project therefore cannot be considered to indicate findings in general as a sample size of one family is not adequate data on which to base outcomes.

3.8 Impact on social networks: Phoenix Rise

Social networks in small localities play a major role in linking people to the community and providing cohesion between disparate groups that make up any locality. The decision to implement the New Living Project in Phoenix Rise was not borne out of the view that the community was dysfunctional or displaying a range of intractable problems. A strong sense of community already exists within particular groups and the Southwell Residents Association meets on a regular basis to thrash out issues pertinent to the community. There is considerable research to demonstrate that social cohesion and local support networks are common features in areas undergoing redevelopment projects (See Arthurson 2002; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Forrest and Kearns 1999).

The impact of the New Living Project on social networks was explored and analysed using two methods. First, the survey waves asked residents to identify whether they feel they can participate in the local community (See Table 21); when analysed this produced a mean value of 1.45; p-value = .498 which is not statistically significant. However, the figures do suggest that more people feel that they can participate in the community than those who do not. As figures are not available for how residents felt prior to the introduction of the New Living Project it is difficult to ascertain whether a significant difference can be identified. On a positive note however, there is equally no evidence to indicate that community participation is declining through the redevelopment process.

Table 21 Perceptions of Community Participation

Topic	Total survey			Total
	survey1	survey2	survey3	
do you feel you can participate in local community	57	100	78	235
yes				
no	45	83	68	196
Total	102	183	146	431

Focus group discussions were also carried out to ascertain the impact on social networks. The participants who engaged in these discussions, particularly families

with young children and older citizens their views indicated that the New Living Project had an initial negative impact on social networks. Several families commented that their children had experienced the loss of friends as families moved out of the area and there was some initial concern that the local primary school would close down. Further concerns also included reference to whether new residents, particularly those who could purchase housing would be amenable to the state housing residents. A final concern relates to the view that Phoenix Rise would lose some of its diverse ethnic background with a focus on appealing to a more defined demographic. The following comments sum up these views:

Southwell has a good group of locals that have been here for a long time, moving people out of the area will change the community feel of the place (male, 55)

My daughter is not happy going to school anymore because every day one of her friends leaves the school to move into another place (female, 35)

Why would anyone want to buy a house here, once they look around they'll see all the Homeswest people and buy somewhere else? (male, 55)

We shouldn't have to move, they should just fix up the houses and let us stay here (female, 30)

I would be happy to move only if it is close by, I don't want move away from this area (female, 45)

However, over the course of the project people have commented that the changes have been positive and while certainly families have moved out of the locality, the newer residents have moved in and, according to the respondents in the focus groups, the latter are friendly and approachable. The older residents in particular commented that the changes they have witnessed make the locality feel 'alive' and full of young families who want to make the area welcoming.

3.9 Impact on social networks: tracking study

All of the families who elected to be part of this aspect of the study commented that they were happy to move and equally were pleased with the service received from the Department for Housing and Works. The move for the three families was positive in terms of housing and accessibility to services. The main concern for one family was transport issues with public transport hard to access. A further family also commented that Phoenix Rise did provide better access to medical

professionals, but they hoped that this would change in their new area in the future. In general, the participants of the tracking study commented that community services, such as employment and education were satisfactory in their new locality. However, two of these families did not require either employment or education. In terms of social networks, the families had not made strong connections in the initial post-move interview, but again these families were hopeful for the future. The participants did comment that they felt safe and there was a marked decrease in apparent signs of vandalism and traffic 'hoons'. Importantly for this group of people, they indicated that overall the move impacted positively on their quality of life.



3.10 Compromising points

The study also aimed to identify any unintended consequences that have resulted from the redevelopment of Phoenix Rise. These points have also been developed from interviews with the local residents and extracted from the open-ended questions in each of the survey waves. Three particular issues are evident: some unintentional loss of social networks, a perceived reduction in the diversity of groups within the locality and a perception that crime is more overt, especially in relation to the use of vacant dwellings for criminal activity.

In that the New Living Project intentionally aims to reduce the level of public housing, and while many residents in the surveys commented that this is a preferable action, others explicitly stated that families with young children, often those experiencing hardship, had moved out of the area. For the families who have stayed in Phoenix Rise the fact that their children had lost friends was an issue of concern and as such an unintended consequence of this project.

A further compromise could be seen in the residents' perceptions that the locality has lost some of the diversity in its population. As indicated in the demographic details, Phoenix Rise has a large percentage of people from different ethnic backgrounds, and it also contains a diverse mixture of housing tenure which further adds to the eclectic demographics of the locality. Some residents commented that it seems unfair to require people who are struggling to have to move because of DHW policy. One focus group participant suggested changing the criteria for public housing such that not just those on welfare would qualify. The point being that a relaxing of income regulations would enable those working families on lower incomes to be eligible for government housing, rather than accessing housing through private means.

A final unintended consequence perceived by many of the residents of Phoenix Rise is the length of time it has taken to refurbish or renovate DHW houses such that they are ready for sale. This has caused many houses to be vacant and, while security measures are in place, often young people would access these properties for criminal activity. The residents of Phoenix Rise who commented on this issue felt that the slow turnaround of properties resulted in an increase in crime.

Chapter Four: Policy Interventions and Research Priorities

The purpose of this section is to discuss the findings from the survey data and focus group interviews in relation to the policy nexus of urban renewal-crime prevention-community development. These policy domains intersect with the lives of the residents in Phoenix Rise and those who have moved out of the area through the relationship residents have with their local environment and those with whom they share that environment.

4.1 Policy Nexus

In relation to policy concerned with crime prevention several points can be raised. First, the residents, while aware of the physical changes to the locality, are not fully aware of the crime prevention characteristics embedded in urban renewal projects. Certainly the residents identify with the importance of lighting; however, many residents do not know that target hardening can reduce security rather than increase possible areas of surveillance. One of the main concerns for the residents is the presence of police and security officers, as most people perceive that the primary form of security is derived from such visible law enforcement indicators. In other words, the residents are not aware that streetscape and urban layout can affect human behaviour and especially criminal activity. As an area of policy concern, the principles of crime prevention through environmental design need to be at the forefront of any redevelopment project so that the residents are fully informed of the evidence-base behind the redevelopment process.

Access to information and ensuring that residents are informed regarding changes in their community also relates to the policy domain of community development. The survey data certainly indicates that the residents of Phoenix Rise were consulted during the initial redevelopment stages; however, the statistical analysis highlights that there has been a significant decline in the perception that residents are continuing to be consulted. The decline may be the result of newer residents moving into the area and completing the survey, as 14% (n=22) of the S3 respondents had been living in the locality for less than twelve months. However, the issue does indicate the importance of consultation for residents

throughout the entire redevelopment process. While not asserting this is the responsibility of community development workers in the respective government agencies, it does suggest that a continual flow of information is important and integral to the ongoing process of urban renewal projects.

Related to the area of community development, is the issue of supporting residents within the community through the transitional stages of the urban renewal program. While the statistical analyses do not suggest any significant changes in the residents' perceptions of participating in the local community, many people in the focus groups commented on the initial loss of social networks as the project moved into its different phases. One way in which this could be addressed is to ensure that those involved in community development are available to discuss concerns at local groups, thus ensuring the residents that their concerns are acknowledged.

The final policy domain relevant to this study is the area of urban renewal and public housing. One of the main concerns throughout this study is to adequately represent the views and perceptions of the residents of Phoenix Rise regarding the New Living Project. Whilst these perceptions have been discussed in the preceding chapters, how they may inform policy in the area requires situating their ideas and thoughts within the policy framework. First, the residents' perceptions of their locality tend to remain in a neutral frame that is neither indicating positive nor negative changes. In a policy context, this suggests that redevelopment must be implemented at a manageable pace for all concerned. Those who implement the policy initiative need also to consider the extent of the behavioural change required for new and existing residents, and for those who move out of the area. As such, any form of evaluating the efficacy of a redevelopment project must occur throughout the duration of the project.

While the main purpose of this study was to identify the perception of the residents of a locality experiencing an urban renewal project, the project does highlight the complex dynamics involved in capturing these perceptions and situating them within a policy context. This raises the issue of how to effectively evaluate an urban renewal project such as the one implemented in Phoenix Rise. Randolph and Judd (2006) argue that without the development of national benchmarks for evaluating urban renewal projects, research does not adequately address the complex issues involved in redevelopment projects. For the residents of Phoenix Rise, how effective the project has been is still open to debate. For

some members of the community, the project has alleviated some of the concerns regarding anti-social behaviour, criminal activity and aesthetic appeal. For others, however the issues are in flux with outcomes still questionable.

One of the main problems with embedding evaluation practices within an urban renewal project is that the broad parameters of the project cross several policy domains. The criteria by which one party's objectives are measured can be different from the way in which the other partners measure their objectives and outcomes. However, it is integral for any redevelopment project that equitable and effective forms of evaluation are part of the planning, implementation and closure of any urban renewal project.

4.2 Research priorities

Three areas have been identified that require further exploration. First, as outlined above, benchmarks are required to effectively evaluate urban renewal projects. Research in this area must include reference to reported crime data over an extended time frame. This would provide valuable data in relation to linkages between the perception of crime, factors that influence safety and whether reported incidences of particular crimes are increasing or decreasing.

Research is also required into the effects urban renewal projects have for people who elect to move as a result of the redevelopment process. Arthurson (2002) argues that the dispersal of public housing residents can render these people invisible in the broader context, thus further marginalising public tenants. While this study aimed to follow the progress of a few families who moved out of the area, the method designed to facilitate this process was not adequate due to the high attrition rate of the sample. Research is therefore needed to develop appropriate methods that will enable the inclusion of a range of people who elect to move away from the locality due to the redevelopment process.

Further research is also required to ascertain the views of people who move into the area as a result of the redevelopment project. As the premise of urban renewal is to develop a balanced social mix of residents in terms of housing tenure, research is therefore required to explore the manifestation effects in terms of benefits and or losses. Research of this nature would also assist with developing the policy benchmarks alluded to in the policy context.

Conclusion

This project examined residents' perceptions of the implementation of the New Living Project in the locality of Phoenix Rise. The overriding aim of the study was to identify factors that, according to the community, assist with making a locality safe and enhance the quality of life for its residents.

The study has provided an overview of the policy nexus that encompasses urban renewal, crime prevention and community development. It has also outlined the demographic detail of Phoenix Rise and situated these data in relation to the broader local government area of the City of Cockburn. These data demonstrate that, at census time, Phoenix Rise is situated at the lower end of the socio-demographic scale within the area.

In order to explore the residents' perceptions of the New Living Project in Phoenix Rise three surveys were carried out from January 2006 to February 2007. The analysis of survey data found, in general, that there is no significant trend in the residents' perceptions either in positive or negative terms in relation to issues of crime, safety and social networks. The analysis did find, however, that factors such as time of day can make people feel less safe; that people can feel safer in the winter months and importantly, the residents' responses suggest that forms of consultation regarding the New Living Project have significantly declined from the initial stages of implementation.

The project also highlighted several factors that impact on the residents' perceptions of safety and thus can enhance their quality of life. These factors include aesthetics and maintenance, verbal abuse in the local neighbourhood and a decline in anti-social behaviour. The study also found that for some residents there is a perception of an initial loss of social networks when the locality is in stages of transition.

Finally, the study has situated these viewpoints in the policy nexus of crime prevention-urban renewal-community development and provided some recommendations for each of these areas.

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Appendix 1: Survey Instrument

Welcome to the Southwell (Phoenix Rise) crime and safety survey.

We are interested in your views about crime, personal safety and the social networks that you experience as part of your daily life. At the present time the locality of Southwell (Phoenix Rise) is undergoing some changes. The Southwell Community Action Plan (2003) identified several areas within the locality that need redevelopment. This plan also highlighted some ongoing social issues that are of concern for local residents.

This survey has questions about your views on crime, safety and the redevelopment program in Southwell (Phoenix Rise). We will repeat this survey process over the next 18 months. It is important that we collect this information so we can follow how you feel about the changes in your local area. The information you provide will be confidential.

Please fill this form in and try to answer all the questions. This will help our research, and help us to understand important things about crime, safety and community networks. However, if you do not wish to answer any question your survey will still be included in our study.

We do appreciate the time you have taken to fill in this survey.

Southwell Residents' Survey

The following questions will help us better understand the people who live in Southwell which will assist us in developing future crime, safety and community programs.

Demographic Information:

1. *What is your age group?*

☐ 12-18yrs ☐ 19-24yrs ☐ 25-34yrs ☐ 35-44yrs ☐ 45-54yrs ☐ 55+yrs

2. *What is your gender?*

☐ Male ☐ Female

3. *In what country were you born?* _____

4. *Do you identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander?*

☐ Yes ☐ No

5. *What is your highest level of education?*

☐ Primary School ☐ Trade/apprenticeship qualification

☐ Year 10 or below ☐ Other TAFE/Technical Certificate or Diploma

☐ Year 11 or below ☐ Degree or Diploma

☐ Year 12 or below ☐ Post Graduate

☐ Other(Specify): _____

6. *Do you speak a language other than English at home?*

☐ Yes ☐ No

7. *What is the main language other than English you speak at home?*

☐ Arabic ☐ Aust. Indigenous Languages ☐ Cantonese

☐ Chinese ☐ Croatian ☐ French

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> German | <input type="checkbox"/> Greek | <input type="checkbox"/> Hindi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hungarian | <input type="checkbox"/> Indonesian | <input type="checkbox"/> Italian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> Macedonian | <input type="checkbox"/> Mandarin |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Malay | <input type="checkbox"/> Maltese | <input type="checkbox"/> Dutch/Netherlandic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Polish | <input type="checkbox"/> Portuguese | <input type="checkbox"/> Russian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Serbian | <input type="checkbox"/> Sinhala (Sri Lanka) | <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tagalog (Filipino) | <input type="checkbox"/> Tamil (Sri Lanka) | <input type="checkbox"/> Turkish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: | _____ | |

7. Which of the following best describes your main current situation?

- ☐ I am in full time paid employment - (35 hours per week or more)
- ☐ I am in part time employment - (less than 35 hours per week)
- ☐ I am not in paid employment - and I am looking for work
- ☐ I am not in paid employment - and I am not looking for work.

8. What is your current main occupation or activity?

9. Which of these groups' best describes your household?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Young single (incl. share house) | <input type="checkbox"/> Single parent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Young couple | <input type="checkbox"/> Couple (no children) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Family (with dependents) | <input type="checkbox"/> Single |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: | _____ |

10. Is this dwelling

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> A separate house | <input type="checkbox"/> A duplex |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A flat, unit or apartment | <input type="checkbox"/> Villa/townhouse |

11. How many people live in this dwelling?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 - 10 ☐ over 10

12. Is this dwelling

- ☐ Owned by you ☐ Being purchased by you
☐ Rented from a private landlord ☐ Rented from Homeswest
☐ Being occupied rent free ☐ Other

13. How long have you lived in this area?

- ☐ less than 12 months ☐ 12 months but less than 2 years
☐ 2 years but less than 3 years ☐ 3 years but less than 5 years
☐ 5 years but less than 10 years ☐ 10 years but less than 20 years
☐ 20 years or more

*14. What is your **TOTAL** household's approximate annual income from all sources **before tax**?*

- ☐ \$0 - \$6,000 ☐ \$6,001 - \$21,600 ☐ \$21,601 - \$58,000
☐ \$58,001 - \$70,000 ☐ Over \$70,000
☐ No answer

Personal Safety

15. When you think about safety in your local area do you think your local area is less safe, the same, or more safe than it was two years ago?

- ☐ a lot less safe ☐ a little less safe ☐ the same
☐ a little more safe ☐ a lot more

16. When thinking about community safety what types of things come to mind?

17. *How safe do you feel in your own home in the day time?*

☐ very safe ☐ fairly safe ☐ a bit safe ☐ unsafe ☐ very unsafe

18. *How safe do you feel in your home in the night time?*

☐ very safe ☐ fairly safe ☐ a bit safe ☐ unsafe ☐ very unsafe

19. *How safe do you feel walking alone in your local area in the day time?*

☐ very safe ☐ fairly safe ☐ a bit safe ☐ unsafe ☐ very unsafe

20. *How safe do you feel walking alone in your local area in the night time?*

☐ very safe ☐ fairly safe ☐ a bit safe ☐ unsafe ☐ very unsafe

21. *Thinking about safety are there any particular locations in your local area that you feel are unsafe?*

☐ yes ☐ no ☐ can't say

22. *If so, what are these locations?*

☐ street name: _____

☐ shopping centre: _____

☐ park: _____

☐ bus stop: _____

☐ bushland: _____

☐ other: _____

Crime

23. *Do you think there is more, less or the same crime in your local area now compared to two years ago?*

- ☐ a lot less crime ☐ a little less crime ☐ the same
☐ a little more crime ☐ a lot more crime

24. Listed below is a number of crime/safety issues which may affect people living in Southwell. Please could you place a tick by those which (a) you think happen most frequently (b) concern you most?

Please pick ONLY FIVE (5) options from each list.

Frequency	Concern
<input type="checkbox"/> household burglary	<input type="checkbox"/> household burglary
<input type="checkbox"/> car theft	<input type="checkbox"/> car theft
<input type="checkbox"/> theft from cars	<input type="checkbox"/> theft from cars
<input type="checkbox"/> assault	<input type="checkbox"/> assault
<input type="checkbox"/> drugs/drug related crime	<input type="checkbox"/> drugs/drug related crime
<input type="checkbox"/> vandalism	<input type="checkbox"/> vandalism
<input type="checkbox"/> group behaviour	<input type="checkbox"/> group behaviour
<input type="checkbox"/> dangerous/drink driving	<input type="checkbox"/> dangerous/drink driving
<input type="checkbox"/> antisocial behaviour	<input type="checkbox"/> antisocial behaviour
<input type="checkbox"/> graffiti/vandalism	<input type="checkbox"/> graffiti/vandalism
<input type="checkbox"/> rubbish/littering	<input type="checkbox"/> rubbish/littering

25. In the last 2 years have you been verbally or physically threatened by someone in a way that really frightened you?

- ☐ yes ☐ no

26. If so, when did this happen?

- ☐ within the last 12 months ☐ 12 months to 2 years ago

27. Where did this happen?

- ☐ in your current dwelling ☐ in the local area
☐ in the metropolitan area ☐ other

28. Did you know the person who threatened you?

☐ yes ☐ no

29. In the past two years have you been a victim of a crime such as **theft, burglary, car theft or vandalism?**

☐ yes ☐ no

30. If so, did this crime occur in your local area?

☐ yes ☐ no

Neighbourhood Renewal

31. Are you aware of the neighbourhood renewal program (New Living Project) in the Southwell/Phoenix Rise area?

☐ yes ☐ no

32. One of the aims of the New Living Project is to improve community safety. Did you know this was the case?

☐ yes ☐ no

33. Another aim of the New Living Project is to enhance traffic flow in Southwell. Did you know that this was the case?

☐ yes ☐ no

34. Are you aware that the New Living Project aims to improve the walkability of Southwell?

☐ yes ☐ no

35. A further aim is to enhance parkland usage, did you know this was the case?

☐ yes ☐ no

36. Do you feel you have been consulted during the planning of the New Living project?

☐ yes ☐ no

37. *Would you like further consultation?*

☐ yes ☐ no

38. *Generally, how would you rate the physical environment in your neighbourhood? The physical environment refers to streets, parks and nature strips, traffic, noise, pollution and rubbish.*

☐ good ☐ average ☐ poor

Social Networks

39. *How would you rate your neighbourhood? This means your connections with neighbours, local community groups and activities, meeting people locally.*

☐ good ☐ average ☐ poor

40. *Do you know your neighbours?*

☐ yes ☐ no

41. *Do you feel you can participate in the local community?*

☐ yes ☐ no

42. *Do you have family and friends in the local area?*

☐ yes ☐ no

43. *Are you aware of any local community groups in this area?*

☐ yes ☐ no

44. *If so, which ones do you know of?*

45. *Do you participate in any local community groups in the area?*

☐ yes ☐ no

46. *If yes, which ones?*

47. How much pride do people have in this neighbourhood? Would you say they have:

☐ a lot ☐ a moderate amount ☐ very little

48. In your opinion how much do other people participate in local activities: things like sports and social clubs, school committees, fund raising events and street events?

☐ a lot ☐ a moderate amount ☐ very little

49. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

(rate 1 = strongly agree & 5 = strongly disagree)

I feel I belong to this neighbourhood:

Strongly agree **strongly disagree**

1 2 3 4 5

My neighbourhood is a good place to bring up children.

1 2 3 4 5

Overall, I am attracted to living in this neighbourhood.

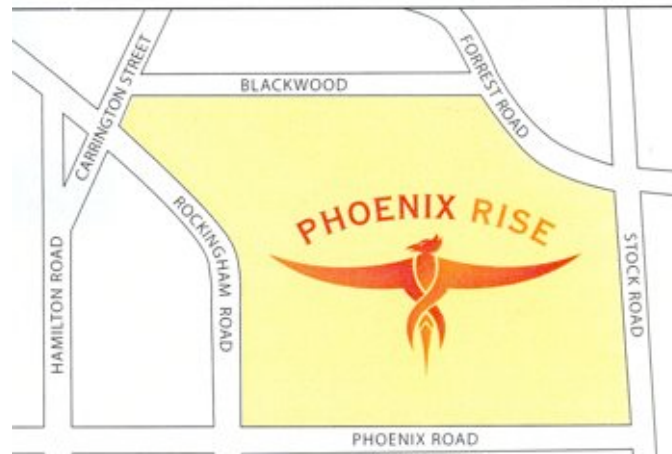
1 2 3 4 5

Generally, this is a strong community where people are willing to work together.

1 2 3 4 5

Thank you for participating!

Appendix 2: Map of Locality



Appendix 3: Master Plan

